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Clanship had an important influence on the relations between men, extending into the smallest matters of everyday life, and much of Creek etiquette was based upon it. Thus a Creek could tell by the attitude of any two members of his tribe toward each other—whether they joked with one another and so on—in what manner they were related. Persons having parents of the same clan used to joke with each other. This "joking relationship" thus included the entire clan of the mother; it also included all of those whose fathers belonged to one's own father's clan and according to Jackson Lewis it included one's own father's father and those women who had married into the father's clan. It was etiquette to talk disparagingly of one's own clan, even in the presence of other members of it, what was said being understood in a contrary sense. On the other hand one must always back up his father's clan and those belonging to it and must speak well of it and of them.

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A similar etiquette extended to objects connected with the clan, particularly the animal from which it was named. I was told that if a person killed a totem animal the people belonging to the clan from which it derived its name would compel him to make them a payment. A man of the Bird clan would say to one who had been shooting birds, "You have killed my parents; you will have to pay me for it," and the other would give him something. The duty of a member of the Wind clan to protect the skunk and rabbit from injury and ridicule has already been mentioned.[86a]

Speaking of the Indians of Tuskegee town, Speck says:

"As descent is traced back to the totem animal itself, it is considered wrong for a man to kill or eat an animal having the form of his totem, as it would be the same as eating his own human relations. Such offenders are nowadays punished by fines which have to be paid to those of his clan who catch him in the act. Furthermore, should one person ridicule or belittle another's totem, he is likely to be taken and fined for wrongdoing by the offended clan. The fine is believed to appease the totem."[87]

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Although the infliction of fines is here spoken of as modern, my own information is to the effect that these observances have, in recent years, been viewed as subjects for jest rather than matters worthy of serious consideration, and it appears that animal names were matters of jest as far back as Adair's time.[88] The custom must certainly have been little more than formal in some cases; otherwise the Deer and Bear clans would have been obliged to abstain from meat almost entirely and the rest of the nation would have been under constant tribute to them. The late Chief Grayson informed me that upon one occasion he killed a fawn and made a cap out of

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[86a] See p. 112. [87] Speck in Mem. Amer. Anthrop. Assn., vol. II, p. 115.
[88] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 18.

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its skin for one of his sons. Afterwards he met a man of the Deer clan who took him to task for this but was finally mollified by the assurance that it was so used, not out of disrespect, but because it was held in honor. A man was also supposed to see that proper respect was paid to the totem animal of his father's clan. An instance was related to me in which a man was called to account for having killed a wolf, by another man whose father belonged to the Wolf clan. It is from this clan association that the Creeks applied terms of relationship to animals. According to one informant the Bird people called the buzzards, and all other kinds of birds in fact, "my father," and he added that this form of address was usual with other clans. It is, however, more likely that the term given by way of illustration was applied by persons whose fathers were from the Bird clan. If they themselves had been Birds they would probably have said "my uncle."[82a]

There appears not to have been the slightest objection to killing totem animals from veneration for them as such, and this was just as true in Adair's time. He says:

"The Indians, however, bear no religious respect to the animals from which they derive the names of their tribes, but will kill any of the species, when opportunity serves. The *wolf* indeed, several of them do not care to meddle with, believing it unlucky to kill them; which is the sole reason that few of the Indians shoot at that creature, through a notion of spoiling their guns . . . though, at the same time, they are so far from esteeming it a deity, they reckon it the most abominable quadruped of the whole creation."[83]

We should perhaps add to this a taboo against killing the rattlesnake, but there appears not to have been the least connection between their unwillingness to kill this reptile and its eponymous character, and indeed the name of Snake clan is not certainly known to have applied specifically to the rattlesnake.[84]

When a formal council was opened in the tcokofa Bartram says that the tobacco used was brought in in a skin usually taken from that animal from which the chief's clan derived its name.[85]

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The Wind clan formed in some respects a privileged class. I have already mentioned the fact that women of this clan were called "grandmothers" by the other people, and we shall see later that, with the possible exception of the Bear, this was the only clan allowed to take up again the clubs with which adulterers were punished, after they

[82a] See also pp. 148-149.
[83] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 16.
[84] Consult, however, Bartram, Travels, p. 491; see p. 487 in following paper.
[85] Bartram, op. cit.

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This last story and the one obtained by Doctor Speck are interesting because they combine the peculiar Southeastern tale in which a bird brings the first land with the well-known quest for earth beneath the waters, a story found over the whole of the eastern part of North America. 773

According to the idea of the southern Indians, something of the supernatural attached to every created thing, every animal, plant, stone, stick, body of water, geographical feature, and even to objects which man himself had made. While these things did, indeed, have certain characteristic appearances and activities which were "natural"—that is, the things normally expected from them—they owed these to a certain impression made upon them in the beginning of things, or at least at some time in the distant past, and it was not to be assumed that they were all the powers which such beings and objects—or, assuming the Indian point of view, we might say simply beings—possessed. The expected might give way at any moment to the unexpected. In such cases the thing itself might exert power in its own right or it might be a medium of power from another being. It might manifest this power at one particular time to one particular person, it might have the faculty of exerting its power constantly, or its power might be brought out from it by the observance of certain regulations. In such cases the response might be an infallible result of performing the regulations, or the charm might be capable of exercising a modicum of volition. 778

An ability to talk on occasion was attributed to animals. Once a prophet heard an owl and a dog talking to each other. The owl said, "People must be afraid of me." The dog answered, "No, but if there is a big stick lying across the road they will be afraid of that." "Would they be afraid of a bush?" inquired the owl. "They would not be afraid of that; they would go around it." "But would they not be afraid if I should get on top of the bush?" "If you do it, they will kill you." They disputed about this for some time and at last the owl perched on a bush in the middle of the road to try and scare passers-by, but in vain. 825

The beings most important in the lives of the Indians or those which, for any reason, were most conspicuous were of course the ones which attracted the most regard from them, were oftenest referred to in their stories, and were made the occasion of something approaching a cult. Still this statement needs modification, since some of their conceptions were the result of evolution, and can not be said to have been due to any apparently greater significance of the objects or creatures in the lives of the present-day Indians. It is even uncertain that they ever were of cardinal significance; some chance association, or the influence of foreign peoples, may have given them 776

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776 their superior position. It should be added that some of the beings by which they believed themselves to be surrounded were purely imaginary. Their attitude toward these was theoretically the same as that toward the common creatures, but as they were not of every-day experience, the supposed encounters with them were of course always believed to have supernatural significance.

• 825 According to both the early writers and the present day Indians, in ancient times the Indians would not willingly kill a wolf or a rattlesnake. I was told that not many stories were related about the former because it was considered the friend of the red men and they were afraid it would injure them.

Not many stories were told about snakes for fear of receiving injury, and Bartram says that the Indians whom he met would not willingly kill any sort of snake, believing that if they did so the spirit of the snake would excite or influence his living kindred or relatives to revenge the injury done to him when alive.[44] Upon one occasion he killed a rattlesnake that had driven some Seminole from their camp, whereupon several of them came to him and performed a kind of ceremonial dry scratching upon him. This was evidently in order to make the relatives of the snake believe that the injury had been atoned for.[45] Adair records that misfortune was predicted by a Chickasaw doctor because he (Adair) had killed one of these reptiles.[46]

A great deal was made of "masters of waters," water creatures such as the beaver, otter, and water snake. They are often associated together in the linking of clans. When I was in Oklahoma during a very dry season, which had been preceded by two or three very dry seasons, some of the Indians said that this was due to the fact that since the coming of the whites the masters of waters, who anciently protected the earth from dryness, had lost control.

776 825 539 Just as we find on the north Pacific coast and elsewhere that the supernatural beings live when at home like men on earth, we hear in Creek stories of animal towns scattered about like those of the Indians, each with its square ground, though of course there are always supernatural accompaniments, and curious features reminding one of the animals which live there. The following story gives an experience with the under water people.

A man who was at some distance from his town fasting in order to obtain medicine was once out after wood, and saw a man up the creek from him, whom he presently met and conversed with. When he got back, he picked up his kettle and started after water, but, on reaching the branch, he threw his kettle into it. Then he stripped off

[44] Bartram, Travels, p. 361, note.
[45] Ibid., pp. 258–261.
[46] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 272–273.

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his shirt and dived under water after it. Two little snakes then took hold of him and guided him along, making a way for him so that he could breathe exactly as if he were on land. By and by they came to a place like a Creek square ground, but the beds were all made of snakes plaited together, and there was a big turtle in front for a footstool. Then the old snakes said "Why did you bring that person here?" But as long as they had done so, the old people told him to sit down. When he tried to step on the turtle, however, it raised up, and it did this three times. The fourth time it stopped and he stepped on its back. When he was about to sit down the snakes began crawling, but at the fourth attempt they also stopped and he seated himself. Then they asked him if he wanted a feather which was fixed in the roof above his head, and he said "Yes," but, when he tried to seize it, it flew up out of reach. At the fourth attempt he got it. Again they said to him, "Do you want that hatchet?" "Maybe I do," he answered. This also rose out of his reach three times and the fourth time he got it. "If you are a man," they said, "let us see you strike off the head of that turtle." So he got off of the turtle's back, aimed a blow at its neck, and, zip! off flew its head while its blood spattered round about. "This will do for you," they said, and they gave him all sorts of instructions as to how he could visit them. From that time on he went back to see them frequently, but presently he began violating their instructions, and they in turn began to dash water on him, so that at last he could not reach them. The man's name was "Horned" (Yábi odjá). He used to dive under water and return about noon with a string of turtles tied together with hickory bark. There was a whirlpool under some rocks in the South Canadian below the standing rock near the mouth of the North Canadian, and there he said he saw some creatures that looked like dogs and he thought that they might be dangerous, but he said that they did him no harm. One day, however, he got drunk and was found dead on the bluff just above that place.

Another boy, a grandson of the preceding, was able to stay under water so long that his companions thought he was drowned. But one time he saw something that scared him, and afterward he remained on shore. He said that the place to which he went was like an open space. It was thought that his grandfather must have taught him how to stay under water, as he would come out in the same way carrying a string of turtles tied together with hickory bark.

My informant affirms that these are true stories, and that an old Indian named Judge Nokosi with whom he was acquainted knew "Horned" personally. "Horned" was a Tukabahchee; the grandson, a Laplako.

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A similar experience is related thus. It shows how a supernatural object was obtained for the inside of the "chief ball" used in the ball game.

An old Alabama doctor living in Oklahoma told a certain man to go into a creek to get part of the nest of a corduroy snake (tie snake) from a cave there, and he gave him a magic cane with which to quiet the serpents. The man went to the water, but, when he saw the snakes, he was afraid and went back. Then the doctor gave the cane to another man. This person went to the creek and began walking into the water, when it was just as if he were walking on dry ground. He saw the cavern with the snakes lying all about. Then he touched them with his cane and they did not hurt him. So he got a little of the nest of the snakes and brought it back, and that was what they put into the center of the ball with which they played.

According to one of my informants the "tie snake" referred to in this story was a long slender snake which made progress by a succession of jumps or flips and was so powerful that it could carry a full-grown horse along with it. Upon one occasion such a snake seized a horse near Wetumka, Okla., and was carrying it along to its den in this manner when the horse in its struggles kicked the snake on the head and killed it. Jackson Lewis, however, gave a somewhat different account of this snake, which I quote along with a story regarding it said by him to belong to very recent times.

The "tie snake" is an inch and a half in diameter and short, but it is very strong. It is white under the throat, but black over the rest of the body, and its head is crooked over like the beak of a hawk. It lives in deep water, usually in small deep water holes from which it makes excursions into the woods, drawing its prey down into the water to its den. There are many tales told of this tie snake, of which the following is a specimen.

A Creek Indian named Ogue hili īmāla, now dead, who used to live about 3 miles from Eufaula, told this to Lewis as a personal experience. He once owned a mare which had a colt. Having missed his mare from the range, he hunted for some time, and finally found her by means of the colt, which he saw running about but always returning to a certain spot. Finally he went to this place and saw that a large tree had been uprooted there, leaving quite a hole where its roots had been—a hole partially filled with water. There he found his mare with her hind quarters under water and her head and shoulders out. As he could not get her out alone he gathered his neighbors together and they went to the place with ropes which they tied about the mare's body and pulled on all together in order to draw her out. But their efforts were at first fruitless. Making a supreme effort, however, they were successful, whereupon the water seemed to flow in from all quarters and fill up the hole. The

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mare was not much hurt, and they took her away and cared for her until she recovered. Her hind quarters were at first numbed, however, and upon them was a spot about an inch and a half across from which the hair had been rubbed. The skin there became black and finally scaled off. When the hair came out again it was black and the animal was quite a curiosity on account of the black ring. Everybody, including Lewis, felt perfectly satisfied that a tie snake had caught this mare and dragged her into the water hole.

This snake is said to have originated from a transformed human being. Two hunters were out together and in a certain place they found two eggs. One of them was suspicious of these but the other was a rash, heedless youth, and he ate them. That night he began to feel strange and his companion observed that he was changing his shape. This change went on until he became a great serpent which continued to live in a water hole near by. Afterwards his mother came to see him and he recognized her but returned again into the water.[47]

In the Tuggle collection there is a note of another snake, known as "the sharp breasted snake,"[48] but I obtained a very much better account of this creature from Jackson Lewis. The two accounts disagree in no particular. Lewis's account is as follows:

The sharp-breasted snake is a serpent which goes along with its head up and its breast advanced. It is rarely seen but you can tell where it has passed along. These snakes are not thought to be very long, but they appear to vary in size. The largest would probably measure a foot and a half in diameter. With its sharp breast this snake tears up the earth, making a deep furrow. It is supposed to be covered with a crust of scales, and where it has touched against stones, and even rocks, it can be seen that they give way to its great power. It can cut through the roots of trees, making the trees keel over, and throw mud high up on the trunks of trees near by. These snakes, when they move in this way, appear to be changing their places of residence and this is always done during a rainstorm. You can see where lightning has struck all along where this snake has been. Such things prove to the Indians that such a snake exists. A Choctaw Indian named John Wesley, in the old Choctaw country south of the Canadian, told Lewis that one of these snakes had in some way been mortally wounded and lay up in the mountains. A number of people saw it and told Wesley about it, and he thought of going to see it but did not. The snake lay there until it was dead, however, and the skeleton was seen by people and spoken of frequently. Wesley knew where this could be found and told Lewis that if he came over they would go over there together and see the bones, but Lewis did not go. This happened in 1905.

[47] For another version see pp. 71-72.

[48] Ms., Bur. Amer. Ethn.

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825 778 The origin of the conception of this snake is without doubt to be found in the tracks made by lightning, and the bones supposed to have been left by one of them might well have been those of some animal exposed at the time of a thundershower.

The horned snake was probably held in highest esteem by the Indians on account of the value placed upon its horns as hunting charms. The following account of it is mainly from Jackson Lewis.

This snake lives in water and has horns like the stag. It is not a bad snake. It crawls out and suns itself near its hole, and on one occasion Lewis claimed to have seen such a snake. It does not harm human beings but seems to have a magnetic power over game. If any game animal, such as a deer, comes near the place where this snake is lying it is drawn irresistibly into the water and destroyed. It eats only the ends of the noses of the animals which it has killed. The old Creeks sometimes got hold of the horns of this snake, and they were broken up into very minute fragments and distributed among the hunters of the Creek Nation. These fragments are red and look like red sealing wax. A Creek hunter is always exceedingly anxious to obtain even the most minute fragment of such a horn, because it is said to give luck and success in hunting and killing deer. "I myself," said Lewis, "have at two times in my life owned a small fragment of one of these horns, and as you yourself know [speaking to Mr. G. W. Grayson] I have always been looked upon as a great deer killer." These snakes are very rarely seen.

The Alabama living in Texas also know of this snake, which they call tcinto sáktco, "crawfish (i. e. long-horned) snake." They say they are of four kinds according as their horns are yellow, white, red, or blue.

825 Tuggle makes mention of another snake described as living under ground. "It is never seen, but it emerges sometimes from the ground, with a great noise, and leaves a large hole in the earth where it came out. It is called the Celestial One, or Good Snake."[49] This snake is probably identical with that described by Jackson Lewis, a most remarkable snake, since it consists principally of head and lacks a body. It lives on the dew from the grass and leaves. It swirls round and round in the air and goes upward until it disappears, from which fact it would seem to typify the whirlwind.

776 825 Jackson Lewis told me of a certain set of supernatural beings residing in the waters and therefore called "the inhabitants of the waters." One of these was the horned snake already mentioned. A second was "the long snake," which coils itself up round and round to a height of perhaps 3 feet. This is perhaps identical with the snake which produces thunder. Another was "the great yellow snake," which is under the ground ordinarily but also burrows its way into

[49] Tuggle, Ms., Bur. Amer. Ethn.

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the waters. Still another was a snake as large around as a stovepipe. Several of these sometimes get together and raise themselves straight up until they can not go higher, when they fall over with a splash. Occasionally they sport in the water by extending themselves across running water in the form of a bow and bending back and forth while the water roars over them. According to Lewis these snakes seem to be chiefs among all the inhabitants of the waters. Other "inhabitants of the waters" are the water bear, water calf, water bison, water tiger, and water person. The water tiger is spotted like a leopard, and is now often identified with that animal.[50] The water person is about 4 feet tall and has long hair.

My Natchez informant had heard a tradition that his people once worshiped a snake to which the women gave their children as food from time to time, but this seems to be a modern myth about the doings of the remote ancestors which has secured a foothold among several tribes.

There are many stories about a monster lizard supposed to live like a bear in hollow trees. It is called by the same name, atcukliba, as a small, inoffensive striped lizard found on trees. It is related that at one time some hunters were encamped near the tree in which such a giant lizard lived. One of the men "had a word," that is a formula of supernatural power, and he said that he could get the best of this animal. He went to the place where it lived and shouted "Come out. We will race." Immediately the atcukliba came out and started in pursuit of the man who ran on across country uttering a peculiar yell. The lizard was close behind him, but the man kept ahead until they were out of sight. By and by the people saw them coming back, the man still in the lead, and, when they got near, the lizard was so much exhausted that it had to lie down. Later a man without power thought he could do the same thing. He kept ahead of the lizard until they were out of sight, but when it was time for them to reappear they saw the atcukliba coming with the man in its mouth. Upon this the onlookers set the woods on fire so that the creature could not pursue them and fled. This lizard appears also in the tales of the Texas Alabama.

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The eagle and a small sparrow hawk that eats chickens each receives the name of "the king of birds." The feathers of the former were highly prized, and were used in dances and games, particularly by members of the Tciloki clans; from this and other circumstances it is evident that it was a war emblem. Adair says that the whole town would contribute, "to the value of 200 deer-skins," to the killing of a large eagle, and the man who did so received an honorable title for the exploit, just as if he had brought in the scalp of an enemy. The bald-headed eagle was not esteemed. According

[50] A famous story in which this snake figures has been given on pp. 70, 71 of the preceding paper.

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825 to Adair all of the Indian nations with which he was familiar considered the raven impure, yet had a kind of superstitious regard for it.[51] Crow feathers were among the war feathers of the Creeks.

Among the Texas Alabama the hoot owl (o'pa) informed prophets when a death or some other misfortune was about to take place. A man who was fond of joking and a prophet were once out hunting when one of these birds flew near and hooted. The former then asked the prophet in a jesting way if he knew what the owl said, and the prophet answered, "He said another man is going with your wife." Upon this the jester cut 12 long sticks, went home, found that the prophet had spoken truly, and beat the guilty pair in accordance with native custom. My informant seemed to think that in cases of death the owl was the man's soul, but this is doubtful. Another prophetic bird was a small red-headed woodpecker having speckled wings which makes a noise resembling bicici, and is hence called in Alabama bicici'hka. When the nephew of one of my informants died, the wife of the former was away in a river bottom. While she was there and before the news had reached her she saw one of these birds flying about. Adair tells us that on one occasion he observed the Indians "to be intimidated at the voice of a small uncommon bird, when it perched, and chirped on a tree over their war camp." [52] This may have been one of the birds above mentioned or a third of similar character.

Dogs are sometimes fabled to have helped men and there are stories which represent them as living in towns with square grounds like those of human beings. It is said that upon one occasion a boy found a deserted house in which was a bitch with a litter of puppies. He took care of them, and when the pups grew up they went out and drove bear up to him so that he could shoot them with arrows. The skunk is once referred to as "chief of all the animals." [52a]

778 As stated in the beginning, supernatural power of some sort was believed to attach to all animals and plants, and to natural objects generally, even to artificial objects, and when we come to discuss Creek medicine a great deal more will be said about their various powers, because each is supposed to have been able to produce certain diseases.

776 Some mythic supernatural beings have already been mentioned, but there were a number of others, many of which caused sickness. Among these were a race of little people, called by Tuggle "fairies." [53] They lived in hollow trees, on tree tops, in the holes in the rocks, and in other similar places. They were strong and handsome, with fine figures, and sometimes they allowed themselves to be seen by a human being, who then talked about them continually

[51] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 131, 173, 194.
[52] Ibid., p. 26.
[52a] See p. 529.
[53] Tuggle, Ms., Bur. Amer. Ethn.